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the *homem de côr* to say '*êle É um senhor*' (he IS a real gentleman) or '*um branco bom*' (a good white) is to admit that the white and the Negro can live together in dignity.

There is a series of expressions used by all types to describe the person who is trying to appear white. Whoever tries to be what he is not is considered ridiculous by all. Both whites and Negroes gossip about the social climber and use the terms '*tem pinta*' (has a 'touch of the tarbrush'), '*tem sangue*' (has Negro blood), '*é da raça*' (is of the Negro race), or simply '*besta*' (show-off), '*cheio de arte*' (artful), '*cheio de manha*' (full of little tricks), or '*fala bonito*' (talks pretty).

There are also many phrases used by lower-class people to ridicule Negroes and *mestiços* who are showing off, or 'pushing'. Most of these start off with *Negro*:

[539]

Negro doesn't marry, he gets together.
Negro doesn't accompany a procession, he runs after it.
Negro doesn't sit down, he squats.
Negro in white clothes is a sign of rain.
Negro doesn't hear Mass, he spies on it.
Negro at a white man's party is the first to grab and the last to eat.
Negro's intelligence is the same size as his hair.

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The concepts and fixed ideas which the people of Vila Recôncavo have of these racial types were also revealed in their responses to a pictorial questionnaire devised in the field.[1] A series of eight photographs of people unknown to those answering the questionnaire was shown, consisting of a male and a female of each of the four major racial types, the *caboclo*, the *preto*, the *mulato* and the *branco*. An attempt was made to use photographs giving no clue to the possible class position of the eight persons. However, the photographs which we were able to secure were not entirely satisfactory for our purposes in Vila Recôncavo. The picture of the caboclo male was of a man of middle age, but a type considered in the local conception as having a strong personality, while the *caboclo* woman was older and certainly not *simpática* (pleasant) in the local view. The two *pretos* were both unmistakably *pretos*, and both young. The *mulato* male and female differed one from the other, as the man was definitely a common *mulato* type, while the woman was almost a *morena mulata* rather than 'pure' *mulata*. She was young and considered much more *simpática* than any of the four women presented. The two whites were not distinguished in any way; and there was doubt in the minds of the people answering the questionnaire as to whether these two were 'pure' white or not.

The questionnaire was given to 85 people: 18 *brancos*—11 males,

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[1] These questionnaires were given by a local assistant after the author's stay in Vila Recôncavo, but the results agree in general with the observations made during research in the community.

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tics, as similarly were tales of the tortoise.[112] Boisterous children were quieted with stories of the Kibungo, a terrifying creature, half-man, half-animal, with an enormous hole in the middle of its back which opened ominously when the creature lowered its head.[113] The Kibungo was especially fond, it is said, of visiting the houses in which naughty boys lived, announcing his presence with:

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De quem é esta casa?
auê
como gérê, como *gérê*
como érá.[114]

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BB
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Max Schmidt observed in Matto Grosso that many of the local practices connected with cattle-raising were of African origin, as similarly were the iron instruments in use there. Eschwege contends that ironworking was learned in Brazil from imported Africans.[115]

[112] See Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 282–83.

[113] *Ibid.*, pp. 301–3.

[114] Whose is this house?
auê
I eat *gérê*, I eat *gérê*
I eat *érá*.

[115] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, pp. 220–21. It is also probable that certain microbes were unwittingly brought to Brazil in the bodies of imported Africans. See Octavio de Freitas, *Doenças africanas no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1935).

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pardo; but common speech adds *cabra* (or *caibra*), *Cabo Verde* (*Cape Verde*), *sarará*, and *moreno*.

The *cabra*, or *caibra*, is slightly lighter in pigmentation than the *preto* and has hair a little less kinky. The *Cabo Verde* is very dark, with Caucasian features and black, glossy, "straight" hair. The infrequent *sarará* is light in color, with hair red (or sandy) and kinky. The *moreno*, many Bahians say, is the new physical type which Brazil is developing.

Quite significantly, the *morena* (or feminine *moreno*) is the "ideal type" of Bahian femininity. She is in many cases an individual of remarkable beauty. Typically, she has dark-brown eyes and dark hair, quite wavy, perhaps even curly, and Caucasian features; her color is *café com leite* (literally, "coffee with milk"; i.e., like that of one "heavily tanned"), and she has a healthy appearance. The term *morena* is seldom mentioned to a Bahian male without there appearing an instant change in his expression. His face "lights up," and a smile breaks on his lips. He pronounces *morena* with a tone indicative of admiration, affection, desire.[10] He seems pleased, happy in the contemplation of an agreeable object. Poets, both professional and amateur, pour out passionate stanzas in her honor,[11] songs are sung

[10] The *morena* has the reputation of being more desirable than lighter Brazilian women; she is commonly described as "more *ardente*" (passionate), "more *adstringente*" (clinging).

[11] As, for example, the following:

Elsa . . . .
Number One girl,
Pretty little "paca" [small Brazilian animal]
Caboclo-colored butterfly,
Splendidly "morena." . . . .

I danced the "catêrêtê" samba with Elsa,
Her warm flesh quivering,
Her breasts full, almost exploding,
Inside her little white blouse.

And then she fell into my arms willingly, voluptuously,
Her eyes like burning coals,
Her ruby lips
Glued to mine in delirious pleasure.

Ah! Ah! mad girl!
"Bamba" girl!
Devilish girl!

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to her,[52] romances written.[53] Of 146 male students responding to the query, "All things being equal, whom would you prefer to marry, a *branca*, a *morena*, a *parda*, a *preta*," 117, or 80.1 per cent, replied "a *morena*." Similarly, of 93 white female students responding to a like question, 80, or 86 per cent, preferred a *moreno* for a mate.

The *morena* may, or may not, have African blood.[54] But at least in Bahia this category includes many individuals of partial African descent. For instance, a study of five hundred women classified as *morenas* in the Gabinete de Identificação indicated the probable distribution given in Table 7.

It is the opinion of Arthur Ramos[55] that, although "the charms of the *morena* exert a profound sexual attraction" and the regard in which she is held "has a sexual base in the Freudian sense," the present attitude toward the *morena* "grew out of the enthusiasm and the sentimentalism of the abolition campaign. The *morena* expresses in a symbolic way the union of the two races—the black and the white—and the absence of [caste] prejudice."

The *morena* probably constitutes a decided bond be-

[52] As, for example, the following:

Beautiful morena,
Morena,
Morena who makes me suffer!
The full moon, so bright,
Is not as luminous as your eyes.
You are a *morena*,
A wonderful girl.
There's not a *branca* who hasn't
fallen for you.

Often,
When you pass by,
Men quarrel over you;
Everyone eagerly anticipates
Your smile.

Your heart is a boarding-house,
A family hotel
Along the seashore.
Oh, *moreninha*, do not rest all!
Leave at least a corner
For me to live in!

[53] A rock on the island of Paquetá in Guanabara Bay at Rio de Janeiro very popular with young lovers, has been dedicated to the *moreninha*.

[54] Pronouncing the word *morena* (or *moreno*) with a certain emphasis or changed inflection indicates darker color.

[55] Stated in personal correspondence with the author.

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While the mixed-bloods are consistently proud of their white lineage, they (at least the ambitious ones among them) tend, as we have noted, to be ashamed of black relatives and to hide, in so far as possible, the too obvious evidence of relation to them. This ordinarily occurs when the mixed-blood has achieved some economic competence or otherwise improved his standing in the social order.

Such an attitude is not greatly dissimilar to that of an upper-class resident of New York, for example, toward his relatives among the mountaineers of Tennessee. As with all individuals who within the span of a few years have climbed from one class to another, the self-confidence and sense of superiority of the Brazilian mixed-blood are to some extent intermittently, or even constantly, threatened by feelings of insecurity. João Varella has written of some of these individuals:

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> Of his white father, whom he never saw,
> He has a picture in the parlor;
> But of the Negro woman who gave him birth
> He has no picture, nor does he even speak of her.[47]

Similarly, Gilberto Freyre has pointed out that many times in the past

there resulted from . . . . the fact that the mother or the grandmother of the house was a mulatto situations often dramatic which are reflected in certain Brazilian romances and other accounts. Fair individuals often sought to keep visitors from seeing the fat mulatto grandmother, or even mother, with her huge negroid buttocks; or kept out of sight the dark brother, or dark sister, the tira-teima"[48]

[47] From an unpublished manuscript entitled "O africano na Bahia."

[48] Elucidating this phrase, a Bahian said, "The *tira teima* is an individual who in himself constitutes a living negation of the family's claim to whiteness. Being darker, or otherwise revealing the presence of Negro blood, this individual destroys the illusion (*tira a teima*) of *fidalguia* [superior standing] which the family wishes to give out."

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men, anxious for a good year's catch, or individuals wishing to be rid of some illness, to obtain employment, or to secure a satisfactory resolution of unrequited love, will purchase foods, wearing apparel, toilet articles, jewelry, and other gifts pleasing to a lady and place them with appropriate ceremonies in a body of water presumed to be inhabited by one of the *mães d'agua*. Particularly sacred are the waters of Mar Grande, off the island of Itaparica, where, a few years ago, a saddle horse, it is said, was presented to Yemanjá; Mont'serrat and Cabeceiras da Ponte, on opposite sides of Itapagipe; Baiutê,[39] near the village of Itapoan; and Mariquita, near Rio Vermelho.[39] Parents of twins make regular food and drink offerings to the twin-deities, the Beji, or Cosme and Damião. Omolú, the "*orixá* of smallpox," is believed to protect not only against the ravishes of this disease

[778] [823] [845] [776] 776 75

[39] A foreigner was swimming in Baiutê when a passer-by, seeing him, shouted excitedly, "What are you doing in there? Don't you know that that water is charmed (*encantado*)? You might even turn into a fish. Haven't you seen the white swans? They say that they are two people who once swam here." For accounts of public offerings to the *mães d'agua* see *Estado da Bahia* for June 19 and September 23, 1936; *A Tarde* (Bahia), February 3, 1938.

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[39] A letter headed, "Every Vow Fulfilled up to the End of the Year, 1936," and addressed to "Our Lady of Mont'serrat, the Mistress of the Sea, Janaina," was found in the bay near Mont'serrat. It read:

To my Godmother:

I promise you, my Lady of Mont'serrat, that if you arrange it so that I can marry Domingos Portella, I will give you a present worth fifty milreis. And on the second of February I will put in another present according to my means. If possible, I will give you thirty milreis, and if not I will give you at least twenty. As large a present as I have I will give you on February 2, from twenty milreis up. My Godmother, I promise thee that the day of my marriage to Domingos Portella will be a happy day for you also; while I shall be having a *festa* here on land, you also will be having a *festa* there in the holy sea. I will fix dishes of all that we have in the house for this day, and send them to you, with greetings from me.

Your goddaughter,

Yvonne D. L. Braga

(Letter presented here by courtesy of Friar Tomás.)

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songs are ordinarily composed of simple sentences in the minor key, and the scale, which on importation from Africa is said to have consisted of only five intervals, now has seven.

Among the invocations sung to the various *orixás* is that given by a former *ogan* of the *candomblé* of Gantois:

[539].

Egbêji mori ô ri, okorin-kam
Orolu mori ô ri, okorin-kam
(Powerful One, I know thee as the first man)

Ôkum-kum biri-biri
Ajá lê mori ô korin-kam
(Even in the dark I can see thou art powerful)

A orêrê aiê, orixá loman,
Iâ, ochê Egbêji orêrê, aiê
(In the whole world, nothing is hidden from the Great-One)[11]

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At the burial of a cult member the songs and musical instruments of the *candomblé* ceremonies are now seldom used as, it is said, they formerly were. But the casket is carried by *ogans*, and the *filhas*, in *bahiana* costume, accompany the procession. Since it is still believed that the *orixá* of the departed may at this time seek a new *cavalo*, no pregnant woman attends. "Possession," however, may and does occur. Thus, at the burial of an elderly Negro woman, a *filha* of Ogun from the *candomblé* of Engenho Velho, who had been "made" for thirty-three years and was widely known and respected for her knowledge of African ritual, two *filhas de santo* were "seized" as the procession wound its way up the steep ascent to Quinta dos Lazaros Cemetery, and another later as the crypt was being sealed. In each case "possession" began with light weeping which soon increased to loud sobbing, the individual meanwhile pressing her hands

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[11] Manoel Querino, *Costumes africanos no Brasil* (Rio, 1938), p. 108.

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revered leaders of the Afro-Brazilian world. When a priest argued with her that, since she had not been ordained by the pope, she had no "spiritual authority" to carry on religious rites, she quickly inquired if Moses, "that great prophet and leader of his people, was ordained by the pope?" The first man, she maintains, must not have been a white man but instead a colored man; "if not black, at least red. For do the scholars not say that man originated in Asia, and do white men ever come out of that continent?" Jesus also must have been an African, or at least a person quite dark. "For did not his parents once hide him in Egypt? And is not Egypt in Africa? If Jesus was not dark, how could they have hidden him among the people of Africa?"

This *mãe de santo* was "made" over fifty years ago in the *candomblé* of Engenho Velho. "My *seita* is pure Nagô, like Engenho Velho," she boasts. "But I have revived much of the African tradition which even Engenho Velho has forgotten. Do they have a ceremony for the twelve ministers of Xangô?[11] No! But I have." She is planning to rebuild her *barracão*, or sacred dance pavilion, to be paid for by tithes levied on the incomes of members of her *seita*. She owns a small store in the Terreiro where she sells the various articles used in the cult ritual and, since the members of the fetish world know that these articles must be, if she sells

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[11] According to a well known Bahian *babalaô*, Xangô was a great African chief whose cruelties the people sought to do away with by setting fire one night to his dwelling. Everyone in it burned except Xangô, who walked unscathed through the flames. Astounded, the people prostrated themselves before him and begged his forgiveness. Xangô became a powerful king and subjected many neighboring tribes, twelve of whose chiefs subsequently became his royal advisers, or ministers. Even before his death, which occurred at an advanced age, Xangô was being worshiped. Cf. Martiniano do Bomfim, "Os ministros de Xangô," *Estado da Bahia*, May 5, 1937.

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the proper ritual, and a vengeful destroyer if rites and taboos are ignored.

Although this fusion is proceeding rapidly, it is still far from complete. A number of Gêge-Nagô and Congo-Angola *orixás*, and at least thirty *caboclo* deities, have not yet been in any way identified with Catholic equivalents.

Occasionally, the critical attitude of members of the fetish world toward unorthodox practices in other *seitas* extends also to the incorporation of Catholic ritual, ideas, and sentiments into fetish practice and belief. A *babalaô* and *feiticeiro*, born in Africa of repatriated Brazilian slaves, recently remarked, "These Bahian *candomblés* aren't African any more. Why, they all go to Mass, pray the rosary, and burn candles to the saints! It's all mixed up now."

The following story illustrates the fusion of European and African traditions. Related recently by a local black, it recounts some of the experiences of Obaluaiê (Abaláu-aiê) and Omolú, known also in Bahia as Xapanan (Xapanã), and is obviously confused with the biblical stories of the Prodigal Son and of Lazarus. It also refers to a European city.

XAPANÃ, FATHER AND SON

Xapanã was fifteen years old when his parents sent him out into the world to see what life was like. After he had walked a long way, he came to a city called Venice, where he went about looking for work. But no one offered him anything, and finally, becoming very hungry, he began to go up to houses and beg for something to eat. But everywhere he asked he was turned away.

Sad and disillusioned, Xapanã continued on his way. At last he came to a forest, where he remained for some time, living on fruits and insects.

When Xapanã was nineteen years of age, he began to think of returning to his father's house and at last made himself ready and set out on the way. Xapanã walked and walked, until one day just as

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night was falling, he, all covered with sores and bruises, began to approach his father's house.

But his father, who saw the traveler coming a long way off, did not recognize him and consequently did not go out to meet him. Xapanã's mother, however, knew her son and in pity at his misfortune, begged and pleaded with her husband to have compassion for him and to receive him like the legitimate son he was.

But the old man turned to her and said:

"This fellow is not my son, because I never had a son who was full of sores."

But, at last, due to the continued pleadings of his wife, the ancient one inquired of the traveler what his name was. Xapanã replied:

"I am called Lazarus."

"Who is Lazarus?" asked the father.

Then Xapanã said: "I am he whom God permitted to use this name."

But the old man persisted in knowing the reason why, if he was Xapanã, he was using the name of Lazarus.

The son turned to his father and replied very quietly:

"I am Xapanã, the lord over pestilence throughout the whole world." And he sang in Queito:

"I say "Guedé,"
I am Obaluaiê,
I call out "Guedé,"
I am Obaluaiê,
Tôtô."

The old man Omolú then replied:

"Ojé badô
Dó lá."

And the young man sang:

"Ojé di apá."

In this way the two came to know each other, and Xapanã "the Elder" recognized Xapanã "the Younger."

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A few whites, even from the upper classes, visit the *pae de santo* to obtain advice on business, politics, and other matters or aid in the cure and prevention of disease. Numerous

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Numerous families *da boa sociedade* ("of social standing") "dão comida" (make the food offerings, especially of *carurú*) to Beji (Cosme and Damião) and celebrate the day sacred to their honor. A number of white individuals on occasion make offerings to the *mãe d'agua*. Cases like that of the wife of a former state senator and political chieftain who kept an altar to an African *orixá* in her house are, however, not numerous.

Of 66 students in the Escola Normal classifying themselves as *brancos* and responding to the query, "Do members of your family give presents to the *mãe d'agua?*" 7, or 10.6 per cent, answered in the affirmative. Of 36 *pardos*, the families of 9, or 25 per cent, similarly made offerings. Of 63 whites, 29, or 46 per cent, thought one ought to fear the *bozo* (black magic); as did 12, or 37 per cent of the *pardos*, and all 6 of the *pretos* who replied. Of 63 whites, only 1 thought the statement "A *pae de santo* is more useful in time of illness than a physician" was true, but 9, or 14 per cent, regarded it as "partially true"; of 32 *pardos*, 2 believed the statement true, and 7, or 22 per cent, thought it "partially true." Of 197 students in the Escola Normal and the Law School, the families of 25, or 13 per cent, "give *comida*" to Cosme and Damião.

Ordinarily the attitudes which the inhabitants of European descent take toward the *candomblé* vary from good-natured tolerance, which is the most characteristic, through indifference, which is common, to active opposition, which is comparatively rare, although from time to time complaints like the one below find their way into the newspapers.

[539] In *A Tarde* for May 8, 1936, appeared an editorial under the title:

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DANGEROUS *CANDOMBLES*

Education may perhaps be the most certain means of eradicating harmful customs. But when these customs are linked with the persistent beliefs of African fetichism and constitute outrageous attacks upon the moral and physical well-being of those who practice them, it becomes necessary to insist upon immediate and complete suppression. This can be done in no way except by police action, energetic and persistent.

And, in *A Tarde* for December 9, 1935, appeared the following complaint:

THE CITY THAT GOD FORGOT

Scenes which Degrade and Depress .... The Revived *Candomblés* .... *Despachos* Even in the Heart of the City ....

The above looks like a movie title. But it is not. Our capital really is a city forgotten by .... God. ....

Your reporter .... has set down in his notebook curious scenes which reflect discredit upon our civilization; things which .... continue on for the eyes not only of those who live here but also of those who visit us from foreign places.

Bahia already has the reputation of being the city of *candomblés*, the paradise of the *macumbas*. However, these used to be localized in fixed zones where the devotees of Oxalá and Yemanjá beat their drums and "fell into the *santo*." Now they begin to encroach upon the most frequented streets, and the African cult is to be seen even in the best residential areas.

Your reporter verified this fact last Sunday night in the *bairro* of Barra, an elegant and aristocratic suburb. Here is to be found Grenfeld Street, very close to the Avenida Oceanica. And on this very street is a *candomblé*.

Happily there is no noise of drums. But palms are used instead, which beat without ceasing until day dawns. And whenever anyone makes an inquiry, the *pae de santo* insists that he has a license, and continues. ....

One morning not long ago, your reporter was passing in front of the

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State Treasury building, a spot very much frequented. A *bosó* had been left there and still remained exposed to the curiosity of all who passed.

A black hen, three copper coins, yellow *farofia*, a cloth doll stuck full of pins, a piece of a man's shirt, and other *bugigangas* [trinkets].

The thing was there until midday. This is no uncommon occurrence, but one which is frankly deplorable. That in the heart of our city, so close to the Rua Chile, *despachos* are made to Exú is, to say the least, disgusting.

[364] In the same newspaper sometime later (June 10, 1937), under the title, "A Specialist in Sport *Bozós*, *Pae de santo* Manoelzinho Is the Worst Enemy of the Limpeza Publica [Street Cleaning Department]," this complaint appeared:

A short time ago the *macumbeiro* known as Manoelzinho took up his residence in a *roça* at No. 256 Cruz do Cosme, and since that time his *bosós* have led to continuous complaints from dwellers along that road and from those who chance to pass that way.

At the side of the road just below the *roça* is a *loco* tree, that species so much preferred for fetishistic practices. Here *bosós* accumulate from day to day until they constitute a veritable mountain of refuse in which may be found an increasing number of dead fowls.

We are informed that this Manoelzinho, who is a *pae de santo* with considerable prestige, is a specialist in sport *bosós*. For it is said that among those who consult him are certain members of the different soccer clubs. Recently a policeman, on the eve of a great game at Graça, noted in one of these *bosós* the initials "T. V." which are the same as those of a well-known athlete.

Since the Street Cleaners never pass along Cruz do Cosme, the *bosós* keep polluting the atmosphere and obliging those who pass by to cover their noses with handkerchiefs.

To whom shall we appeal? Who will do something about this?

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However, more characteristically, the Bahian identified with European customs and traditions adopts toward the *candomblé* a tolerant attitude. While he looks upon it as "ignorant fetishism," he ordinarily accepts it as "an African institution," which, in the words of a student at the Faculty

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APPENDIX B

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COMMON SAYINGS REGARDING THE NEGRO

The following common sayings regarding the Negro probably date from the early years of the slave epoch. They are employed today more as interesting anecdotes of a former time than as characterizations of living individuals. They thus possess more the character of cultural survivals which are gradually disappearing than of racial myths actively functioning to maintain current racial inequalities or a caste order. Ordinarily, they are not thought of when individuals from the different races meet face to face. They are always uttered with a smile which seems to give them a character similar, for instance, to jokes about the Ford car which were so current in the United States in the 1920's or to humorous comments on the Irish, Scotch, or Swedes. Some of them are:

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Negroes aren't born; they just appear.
Negroes don't marry; they just live together.
Negroes don't sleep; they just take naps.
Negroes don't eat; they bolt their food.
Negroes don't look at you; they only glance at you out of the corners of their eyes.
Negroes don't dance; they "samba."
Negroes don't take a bath; they just wet themselves.
Negroes don't dry themselves; they just shake the water off.
Negroes don't comb their hair; they curry it.
A Negro woman doesn't give birth to a child; she just "pops it out."
A Negro with gloves on is a sign of rain.
A Negro dressed in white is a fly in milk.[1]

[1] That is, "he looks out of place," a *pardo* explained.

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A Negro dressed in black is a black vulture with a cape.
A Negro is a *pau de fumo*.[3]
The Negro if he doesn't soil things on entering, soils them before he leaves.
Negro, *onça*'s food.

The following verses of a similar character also are recalled:

The Negro has hair
Which lard will not flatten;
The more he combs it,
The more it kinks.

A Nagô Negro when he dies
Is carried off in a bangué;[3]
His relatives say,
"The vultures have to eat."

An old Negro when he dies
Smells like a skunk;
Our Lady, don't let
That Negro into Heaven!

A Negro when he dies
Is laid out in a shirttail;
His relatives say,
"A poor man has no need of luxury."

The odor of a Negro woman
Comes from two places:
The armpit
And the heel.

If the priest is white, he says Mass;
But if he is a Negro, he only pretends to be saying it.[4]

[3] A piece of wood around which raw tobacco is wrapped for transport. It subsequently turns very black. [276]

[3] A crude litter used in colonial Brazil to carry the bodies of dead slaves, to transport building materials, etc. [493]

[4] An informant explained this line thus: "If he acted as if he was saying Mass, he was merely pretending, for he had not learned how to say it."

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NEGROES IN BRAZIL

The Negro was born to be a dog
And to spend his life barking.

The Negro will not go to heaven,
Even though he prays,
Because his hair is kinky,
And it might stick Our Lord.

I have a pain in my chest
That goes to my heart
When I see a Negro with shoes on
And a mulatto barefoot.

Every white man comes from God,
Every mulatto is a *pimpão*,[1]
Every caboclo is a thief,
Every Negro a *feiticeiro*.

The white man is a son of God,
The mulatto is a foster-child,
The *cabra* has no relatives,
The Negro is a son of Satan.

The white man goes to heaven,
The mulatto stays on earth,
The *caboclo* goes to purgatory,
The Negro goes to hell.

The white man is a gold chain, the mulatto fine silver,
The *cabra* is a *relicario*, the Negro a leather cord.

It seems probable that the following sayings and verses arose as a form of protest from the Negro group itself:

The Negro was born just to be a lackey of the whites.
In the white's fishing, it's the Negro who pulls the net.
If the Negro doesn't want gruel, they give him gruel.
If the Negro doesn't want beans, they give him beans.
An insane white man is said to be only nervous; but an insane Negro is called a "drunk."

[1] A *pimpão* is one who is "sassy," provoking, "goes about with a chip on his shoulder."

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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The white man eats out of a plate, the mulatto where he likes, the *cabra* from a *cuia*,[6] the Negro out of an *aribe*.[7]

The white man sleeps in a bed,
The mulatto in the hall,
The *caboclo* in the parlor,
The Negro in the "privy."

Whites sleep in beds,
Mulattoes in the kitchen,
Caboclos on the *terreiro*,[8]
Negroes under the henroost.

The white man drinks champagne,
The mulatto Port wine,
The *caboclo* beer,
The Negro pig's urine.

The *chique-chique* is a thorny wood,
The *umburana* a bee's tree,
The oxen's necktie is a yoke,
The Negro's coat a beating.

The mulatto, the *cabrinha*,[9] and the Negro
Used to be able to drink;
But today only whites and mulattoes
Can swill it down all day.

You call me ugly;
I am ugly, but I am also affectionate.
The seasoning is ugly too,
But it makes a dish taste good.

[6] A *cuia* is a bowl made from half a gourd.

[7] An *aribe* is a crude clay dish.

[8] The space between the house and the servant quarters is called the *terreiro*. It may be paved with brick, or cement, but more often it is only of bare ground.

[9] Diminutive of *cabra*.

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[SALVADOR]

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*563 1793 Since that time priests who were black and of mixed blood began to distinguish themselves, in Bahia as throughout the country, as sacred orators, professors of Latin, of philosophy and rhetoric, of Portuguese, and as superiors and directors of educational institutions, prefects of studies, etc. Proud of this, the Blacks expressed their antagonism toward the mulattoes and cabôclos by repeating this quatrain: [539]

I have seen many Negroes
At the altar in the act of saying Mass
And the cabôclo, all that he achieves
Is to be usher.

*563 1792 829 [797] In the religious orders, directed in general by European monks or of European structure, the prejudice that maintains that the métis find it difficult to be faithful to the vow of chastity persisted for a long time. Such a belief must have strongly influenced the opposition to the ordination of colored religious. An /76/ intellectual of dark color relates that during his youth, more than 40 years ago, he, wishing to become a priest, entered a religious order, but the superior of the monastery to which he applied, a Spaniard, advised him to seek another path. Astonished by this refusal, he demanded an explanation, and the superior told him that he might find it difficult to subject himself to the discipline, because men of his type are obliged to make great efforts to remain chaste. And since the informant thought that in the secular clergy he would be very much in danger of betraying his trust, he gave up his idea. Thus, even today, the religious orders include very few métis. [178] The situation is beginning to improve, however, with the ordination of some moreno and light mulatto monks; in an apostolic school in which one of these orders trains young men wishing to embrace the religious life, there is at present a majority of pardos and cabôclos recruited from among modest families of the interior, particularly in the rural area of the northeastern part of the State of Bahia. Light mulattoes, ordained in the course of recent years, have been trained in the same school. In the

*563 578 562 1792 178 female religious orders the difficulties for the acceptance of colored girls are very much greater. Not only are some of them directed by European religious, but there still persists the Portuguese